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ENGLISH COMMONIR

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AGAINST THE IRISH CATHOLIC



LONDON

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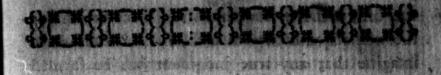
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FROM A

Distingushed ENGLISH COMMONER, &c.

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MK LORD.

AM obliged to your lordship for your communication of the heads of Mr. G.—r's bill. I had received it in an earlier stage of its progress from Mr. Br-gh-ll; and I am still in that gentleman's debt, as I have not made him a proper return for the favor he has done me. Business, to which I was more immediately called, and to which my sentiments gave the weight of one vote, occupied me every moment since I received his letter. This first morning, which I can call my own, I give with great chearfulness to the subject, on which your lordship has done me the honor of desiring my opinion. I have read the heads of

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the bill, with the amendments. Your lordfhip is too well acquainted with men, and with affairs, to imagine that any true judgment can be formed on the value of a great measure of policy. from the perufal of a piece of paper. At prefent I am much in the dark, with regard to the state of the country, which the intended law is to be applied to. It is not easy for me to determine whether or no it was wife, for the fake of expunging the black letter of laws, which menacing as they were in the language, were every day fading into difuse, folemnly to re-affirm the principles, and to re-enact the provisions of a code of statutes, by which you are totally excluded from THE PRIVI-LEGES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, from the highest to the lowest, from the most material of the civil professions, from the army, and even from education, where alone, education is to be had. Whether this scheme of indula gence, grounded at once on contempt and jealoufy, has a tendency gradually to produce fomething better and more liberal, I cannot tell, for want of having the actual map of the country. If this should be the case, it was right in you to accept it, fuch as it is. But if this should be one of the experiments, which have fometimes been made to try whether the temper of the nation was ripe for a real reformation, I think it may possibly have

ill effects, by disposing the penal matter in a more fystematic order, and also by fixing a permanent bar against any thing that is truly substantial-The whole merit or demerit of the measure depends upon the plans and dispositions of those by whom the act was made, concurring with the general temper of the protestants of Ireland, and their aptitude to admit in time of some part of that equality, without which you never can be FELLOW eltizens .- Of all this I am wholly ignorant. All my correspondence with men of public importance, in Ireland, has for fome time totally ceafed. On the first bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, I was, without any call of mine, consulted both on your fide of the water and on this. On the prefent occasion, I have not heard a word from any man in office; and know as little of the intentions of the British government, as I know of the temper of the Irish parliament: Your lordship mentions that opposition is expected from the archbishop of C-11. If I am rightly informed, he has obtained that high and lucrative office under the crown, by the credit of his uncle, Mr. E-, who has himself an high and tolerably profitable office under the king, and has been for many years constantly in such offices; and who, as I am told, looks to the peerage. Opposition, too, is hinted from other perfons, who A 3 hold

hold great places and have multiplied great emoluments under government. I do not find that any opposition was made by the principal persons of the minority of the House of Commons, or that any is apprehended from them in the House of Lords. The whole of the difficulty feems to lie with the principal men in government under whose protection this bill is supposed to be brought in. This violent opposition and cordial support, coming from one and the same quarter. appears to me fomething MYSTER 10Us, and hinders me from being able to make any clear judgment of the merit of the present measure, as compared with the actual state of the country, and the general views of government, without which one can fay nothing that may not be very erroneous.

To look at the bill, in the abstract, it is neither more or less than a renewed As of universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless Disqualification.

ONE would imagine, that a bill, inflicting fuch a multitude of incapacities, had followed on the heels of a conquest, made by a very fierce enemy, under the impression of recent animosity and resentment. No man, on reading that bill, could imagine he was reading an act of amnesty and

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and indulgence, following a recital of the good behaviour of those who are the objects of it; which recital stood at the head of the bill, as it was first introduced: but, I suppose from its incongruity with the body of the piece, was afterwards omitted .- This I fay on memory. It however still recites the oath, and that CATHOLICS ought to be confidered as GOOD AND LOYAL SUBJECTS to his majesty, his crown and government: then follows an universal exclusion of those good and LOYAL subjects from every, even the lowest office of trust and profit, or from any vote at an election; from any privilege in a town corporate; from being even a freeman of fuch corporations. from ferving ongrand juries; from a vote at a veltry; from having a gun in his house, from being a barrifter, attorney, Solicitor, or &c. &c. &c.

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This has furely much more the air of a Table of Proscription, than an ACT OF GRACE. What must we suppose the laws, concerning those good subjects, to have been, of which this is a relaxation? I know well that there is a cant current about the difference between an exclusion from employments, even to the most rigorous extent, and an exclusion from the natural benefits arising from a man's own industry. I allow, that under some circumstances, the difference is very material, in point

point of justice, and that there are confiderations which may render it adviseable for a wifegovernment to keep the leading parts of every branch of civil and military administration, inhands of the best trust: but a total exclusion from the common-wealth is a very different thing .-When a government subsists, as governments formerly did, on an estate of its own, with but few and inconfiderable revenues drawn from the fubject, then the few offices which fubfifted, were naturally at the disposal of those who paid the salaries out of their own pockets, and there an exclufive preference could hardly merit the name of profcription: almost the whole produce of a man's industry remained in his own purse to maintain his family. When a very great portion of the labour of individuals goes to the state, and is by the state again refunded to individuals thro' the medium of offices, and in this circuitous progress from the public to the private fund indemnifies the families from whom it is taken, an equitable balance between the government and the subject is established. But if a great body of the people who contribute to this state lottery, are excluded from all the prizes, the stopping the circulation with regard to them, must be a most cruel hardship, amounting in effect to being double and treble taxed, and will be felt as fuch to the very quick

by all the families high and low of those hundreds of thousands, who are denied their chance in the returned fruits of their own industry. This is the thing meant by those who look on the public revenue only as a sposil; and will naturally wish to have as few as possible concerned in the division of the booty. If a state should be so unhappy as to think it cannot subsist without such a barbarous proscription, the persons so proscribed ought to be indemnished by the remission of a large part of their taxes, by an immunity from the offices of public hurden, and by an exemption from being presed into any military or naval service.

Common sense and common justice dictate this at least, as some fort of compensation for their slavery. How many families are incapable of existing, if the little offices of the revenue, and little military commissions are denied them? To deny them at home, and to make the happiness of acquiring some of them somewhere else, felony, or high treason, is a piece of cruelty, in which till very lately I did not suppose this age capable of persisting. Formerly a similarity of religion made a sort of country for a man in some quarter or other. A resugee for religion was a protected character. Now, the reception is cold indeed and therefore as the asylum abroad is destroyed, the

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the hardship at home is doubled. This hardship is the more intolerable because the professions are The church is fo of course. Much is shut up. to be faid on that subject, in regard to them and the protestant diffenters. But that is a chapter by itself. I am sure I wish well to that church. and think it's ministers among the very best citizens of your country. However fuch as it is, a great walk in life is forbidden ground to feventeen hundred thousand of the inhabitants of Ireland. Why are they excluded from the law? Donot they expend money in their fuits ? Why may not they indemnify themselves, by profiting, in the persons of some, for the losses incurred by others? Why may not they have persons of confidence whom they may, if they please, employ in the agency of their affairs? The exclusion from the law, from grand juries, from sheriffships, and undersheriffships, as well as from freedom in any corporation, may subject them to dreadful hardthips, as it may exclude them wholly from all that is beneficial, and expose them to all that is mischievous in a trial by jury. This was manifestly within my own observation, for I was three times in Ireland from the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had fufficient means of information, concerning the inhuman proceedings, among which were many cruel murders, besides an infinity.

finity of outrages and oppressions unknown before in a civilized age, which prevailed during
that period in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among the roman catholics against the king's
government. I could dilate upon the mischiess
that may happen, from those which have happened upon this head of disqualification, if it were
at all necessary.

decree which a least refute

THE head of exclusion from votes for members of parliament is closely connected with the former. When you cast your eye on the statute book, you will see that no catholic, even in the serocious act of queen Anne, was disabled from voting, on account of his religion; the only conditions required for that privilege, were the oaths of allegiance and abjuration—both relative to a civil concern. Parliament has since added another oath of the same kind: and yet an House of Commons adding to the securities of government in proportion as its danger is confessedly lessened, and professing both considence and idulgence, takes away, in essect, the privilege less by an act full of jealously, and professing persecution,

THE taking away of a vote is the taking away the SHIELD which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but that worst of all

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all oppressions, the perfecution of private fociety, and private manners. No candidate for parliamentary influence is obliged to the least attention towards them, either in cities or counties. On the contrary, if they fhould become obnoxious to any bigotted or malignant people amongst whom they live, it will become the interest of those who court popular favor, to use the numberless means which always refide in magistracy and influence, to oppress them. The proceedings in a certain county in Munster during the unfortunate period I have mentioned, read a ftrong lecture on the cruelty of depriving men of that SHIELD, on account of their fpeculative opinions. The protestants of Ireland feel well and naturally on the hardship of being bound by laws in the enacting of which they do not directly or indirectly vote. The bounds of these matters are nice, and hard to be fettled in theory, and perhaps they have been pushed too far. But how they can avoid the neceffary application in the case of others towards them, I know not.

It is true, the words of this act do not create a disability; but they clearly and evidently suppose it. There are few catholic freeholders to take the benefit of the privilege, if they were permitted to partake it; but the manner in which this very right

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right in freeholders at large is defended, is not on the idea that they do really and truly represent the people; but that all people being capable of obtaining freeholds, all those, who, by their industry and sobriety merit this privilege, have the means of arriving at votes. It is the same with the corporations.

THE laws against foreign education are clearly the very worst part of the old code. Besides your laity, you have the fuccession of about 4000 clergymen to provide for. These having no lucrative thing in profpect, are taken mostly out of the lower orders of the people. At home, they have no means whatfoever provided for their attaining a clerical education, or indeed any education at all. When I was in Paris, about feven years ago, I looked at every thing, and lived with every kind of people, as well as my time admit-I faw there the Irish college of the Lombard, which feemed to me a very good place of education, under excellent orders and regulations, and under the government of a very prudent and learned man, the late Dr. Kelly. This college was possessed of an annual fixed revenue of more than a thousand pounds a year; the greatest part of which had arisen from the legacies and benefactions of perfons educated in that college, and who had

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had obtained promotions in France, from whence they made this grateful return. One in particular I remember, to the amount of ten thousand livres, annually, as it is recorded on the donor's monument in their chapel.

IT has been the custom of poor perfons in Irejand, to pick up fuch knowledge of the Latin tongue as under the general discouragements, and occasional purfuits of magistracy, they were able to acquire; and receiving orders then at home, were fent abroad to obtain a clerical education. officiating in petty chaplainships, and performing, now and then, certain offices of religion for fmall gratuities, they received the means of maintaining themselves, until they were able to compleat their education. Through fuch difficulties and discouragements, many of them have arrived at a very confiderable proficiency, fo as to be marked and diftinguished abroad, who afterwards, by bein funk in the most abject poverty. despised and ill-treated by the higher orders among protestants, and not much better esteemed or treated, even by the few persons of fortune of their own persuasion; and contracting the habits and ways of thinking of the poor and uneducated, mong whom they were obliged to live, in a few years retained little or no traces of the talents and acquireır

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acquirements, which distinguished them in the early period of their lives. Can we, with justice, cut them off from the use of places of education, sounded, for the greater part, from the economy of poverty and exile, without providing something that is equivalent at home?

WHILST this restraint of foreign and domestic education was part of an horrible and impious fystem of fervitude, the members were well fitted to the body. To render men patient, under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be infulted, it was fit that it should be degraded. But when we profess to restore men to the capacity for property, it is equally irrational and unjust to deny them the power of improving their minds as well as their fortunes. Indeed, I have ever thought the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature, to be the worst species of tyranny that the infolence and perverfeness of mankind ever dared to exercise. This goes to all men, in all fituations, to whom education can be denied.

Your lordship mentions a proposal which came from my friend the Provost, whose benevolence

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and enlarged spirit I am persectly convinced of: which is, the proposal of erecting a few fizerships in the college, for the education of roman catholic clergymen. He certainly meant it well; but, coming from fuch a man as he is, it is a strong instance of the danger of fuffering any description of men to fall into entire contempt-The charities intended for them are not perceived to be fresh infults; and the true nature of their wants and necessities being unknown, remedies, wholly unfuitable to the nature of their complaint, are provided. It is to feed a fick Gentoo with beef broth, and foment his wounds with brandy. If the other parts of the university were open to them, as well on the foundation, as otherwife, the offering of fizerships would be a proportioned part of a general kindness. But when every thing liberal is with-held, and only that which is fervile is permitted, it is easy to conceive upon what footing they must be in fuch a place.

Mn. HUTCHINSON must well know the regard and honor I have for him; and therefore he cannot think my differing from him in this particular, arises from a disregard of his opinion: it only shows that I think he has lived in Ireland; to have any respect for the character and person of a popish priest there—oh! 'tis an uphill-work indeed!

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But until we come to respect what stands in a respectable light with others, we are very deficient in
the temper which qualifies us to make any laws
and regulations about them. It even disqualifies
us from being charitable to them with any effect
or judgment.

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WHEN we are to provide for the education of any body of men, we ought feriously to confider the particular functions, they are to perform in life. A Roman catholic clergyman is the minifter of a very ritual religion: and by his profesfion, subject to many restraints. His life is a life full of ftrict observances, and his duties, of a laborious nature towards himfelf, and of the highest possible trust towards others. The duty of confession alone is sufficient to set in the strongest light the necessity of his having an appropriated mode of education. The theological opinions and peculiar rites of one religion never can be properly taught in univerfities, founded for the purposes and on the principles of another, which in many points is directly opposite. If a roman catholic clergyman, intended for celibacy, and the function of confesfion, is not firially bred in a feminary where thefe things are respected, inculcated, enforced as sacrad, and not made the subject of derision and obloquy, B 3

he will be ill fitted for the former, and the latter will be in his hands a terrible instrument indeed.

THERE is a great resemblance between the whole frame and constitution of the Greek and Latin churches. The fecular clergy in the former, by being married, living under little restraint, and having no particular education suited to their function, are fallen into fuch universal contempt, that they are never permitted to aspire to the dignities of their own church. It is not held respectful to call them PAPAs, their true and ancient appellation, but those who wish to addrefs them with civility, always call them HIERO-MONACHI. In confequence of this difrespect, which I venture to fay, in fuch a church must be the consequence of a secular life, a very great degeneracy from reputable christian manners has taken place throughout that great body of the christian priesthood.

It was so with the Latin church, before the refiraint on marriage. Even that restraint gave rise to the greatest disorders before the council of Trent, which together with the emulation raised, and the good examples given by the resormed churches, wherever they were in view of each other, has brought brought on that happy amendment which we fee in the Latin communion, both at home and abroad.

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THE council of Trent has wifely introduced. the discipline of seminaries, by which priests are not trufted for a clerical institution, even to the fevere discipline of their colleges; but after they pass through them, are frequently, if not always obliged to pass through peculiar methods. having their particular ritual functions in view. It is in a great measure owing to this, and fimilar methods used in foreign education, that the roman catholic clergy of Ireland, fo miferably provided for, and living among low and ill-regulated people, without any discipline of fusficient force to secure good manners, are considered as an intolerable nuifance to their country, instead of being thought, as I conceive them generally to be, of very great fervice to it.

THE ministers of protestant churches require a different mode of education, more liberal and more sit for the ordinary intercourse of life, and having little hold on the minds of people by external ceremonies, extraordinary observances, or separate habits of living, they make up the desiciency by cultivating their minds with all kinds of ornamental learning, which the liberal provision made

in England and Ireland for the parochial clergy, and the comparative lightness of parochial duties enables the greater part of them, in some confiderable degree, to accomplish; to say nothing of the ample church preferments, with little or no duties annexed.

THIS learning, which I believe to be pretty general, together with an higher fituation, and more chaftened by the opinion of mankind, forms a fufficient security for their morals, and their fustaining their clerical character with dignity. It is not necessary to observe, that all these things are however, collateral to their function, and that except in preaching, which may be and is fupplied, and often best supplied, out of printed books. little else is necessary for a protestant minister. than to be able to read the English language; I mean for the exercise of his function, not to the fecurity of his admission. But a popish parson in Ireland may do very well without any confideraable classical erudition, or any proficiency in pure or mixed mathematics, or any knowlege of civil history. Even if they should possess those acquifitions, as at first, many of them do, they foon lose them in the painful course of professional and parochial duties: but they must have all the knowledge, and what is to them more important than the entitle of the state of the state of terms know-

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knowledge, the discipline necessary to those duties. All modes of education, conducted by those whose minds are cast in another mould, as I may say, and whose original ways of thinking are formed upon the reverse pattern, must be to them not only useless, but mischievous. Just as I should suppose the education in a popish ecclesiastical seminary would be ill sitted for a protestant clergyman. Here it would be much more so; as, in the case of the first, it only requires to reject; in the other, little for his purpose is to be acquired.

ALL this, my lord, I know very well, will pass for nothing with those who wish that the popish clergy should be illiterate, and in a fituation to produce contempt and detestation. Their minds are wholly taken up with party fquabbles, and I have neither leifure nor inclination to apply any part of what I have to fay, to those who never think of religion, or of the commonwealth, in any other light, than as they tend to the prevalence of some faction in either. I speak on a supposition, that there is a disposition to take the state in the condition in which it is found, and to improve it in that state to the best advantage. Hitherto, the plan for the government of Ireland has been, to facrifice the civil prosperity of the nation to its religious improvement. But if people in power there,

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there, are at length come to entertain other ideas, they will confider the good order, decorum, virtue, and morality of every description of men among them, as of infinitely greater importance than the struggle, for it is nothing better, to change those descriptions by means which put to hazard, objects, which, in my poor opinion, are of more importance to religion and to the state, than all the polemical matter which has been agitated among men from the beginning of the world to this hour.

On this idea, an education fitted to each order and division of men, fuch as they are found, will be thought an affair rather to be encouraged than discountenanced: and until institutions at home, fuitable to the occasions and necessities of the people, and which are armed, as they are abroad, with authority to coerce the young men to be formed in them, by a strict and severe discipline, -- the means they have, at prefent, of a cheap and effectual education in other countries, should not continue to be prohibited by penalties and modes of inquisition, not fit to be mentioned to ears that are organized to the chafte founds of equity and justice. Before I had written thus far, I heard of a scheme of giving to the Castle the patronage of the prefiding members of the catholic clergy. At first I could scarcely credit it : for I believe it is the the first time that the presentation of other people's alms has been desired in any country. If the state provides a suitable maintenance and temporality for those governing members, and clergy under them, I should think the project, however improper in other respects, to be by no means unjust. But to deprive a poor people, who maintain a second set of clergy, out of the miserable remains of what is left after taxing and tything—to deprive them of the disposition of their own charities among their own communion, would be, in my opinion, an intolerable hardship indeed!

NEVER were the members of one religious feet fit to appoint the pastors to another. Those who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. The Seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, whether catholics or protestants: and where their own fect is concerned, full as re-But the sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek church, the little factions of the HARAM, to which they make them fubservient, the continual sale to which they expose and re-expose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy. is (for I have had particular means of being acquainted with it) nearly equal to all the other oppressions

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oppressions together, exercised by mussulmen over the unhappy members of the Oriental church. It is agreat deal to suppose that even the present Castle would nominate bishops for the roman church of Ireland with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps they dare not do it.

Bur suppose them as well inclined, as I know that I am, to do them all kind of justice, I declare I would not, if it were in my power, take it on myself, I know I ought not to do it. I belong to another community, and it would be intolerable usurpation in me to affect fuch authority, where I conferred no benefit, or even if I did confer, as in fome degree the Seraglio does, temporal advantages. But, allowing that the present Castle finds itself fit to administer the government of a church which they folemnly forfwear, and forfwear with very hard words and many evil epithets, and that as often as they qualify themselves for the power which is to give this very patronage, or to give any thing elfe that they defire; yet they cannot infure themselves that a man like the late LORD CHESTER-FIELD will not succeed to them. This man, while he was duping the credulity of papifts with fine words in private, and commending their good behaviour during a rebellion in Great Britain, as it well deferved ferved to be commended and rewarded, was capable of urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne, and stimulating with provocatives the wearied and half-exhaufted bigotry of the then Parliament of Ireland. They fet to work, but were at a lofs what to do; for they had already almost gone through every contrivance which could waste the vigour of their country : but, after much struggle, they produced a child of their old age, the shocking and unnatural act about marriages, which tended to finish the scheme for making the people not only two diffinct parties for ever, but keeping them as two diffine fpecies in the fame land. Mr. G-r's humanity was shocked at it, as one of the worst parts of that truly barbarous fystem, if one could well fettle the preference, where almost all the parts were outrages on the rights of humanity, and the law of lotores es exception nature.

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leed Suppose an atheist, playing the part of a bigot, should be in power again in that country, do you believe that he would faithfully and religiously administer the trust of appointing pastors to a church, which, wanting every other support, stands in tenfold need of ministers who will be dear to the people committed to their charge, and who will ex-

ercife a really paternal authority amongst them? But if the superior power was always in a disposition to dispense conscientiously, and like an upright truftee and guardian of these rights which he holds for those with whom he is at variance. has he the capacity and means of doing it? How can the Lord Lieutenant form the least judgment of their merits, fo as to discern which of popish priests is fit to be made a bishop? It cannot be : the idea is ridiculous ! - He will hand them over to Lords Lieutenant of counties, justices of the peace, and other persons, who, for the purpose of vexing and turning to derifion this miferable people, will pick out the worst and most obnoxious they can find amongst the clergy, to set over the rest. Whoever is complainant against his brother, will be confidered as perfecuted: whoever is censured by his fuperior, will be looked upon as oppressed: whoever is careless in his opinions, and loose in his morals, will be called a liberal man, and will be fupposed to have incurred hatred, because he was not a bigot, Informers, tale-bearers, perverse and obstinate men, flatterers, who turn their back upon their flock, and court the protestant gentlemen of the country, will be THE OBJECTS OF PREFERMENT; and then I run no risk in foretelling, that whatever order, quiet, and morality you

you have in the country, will be loft. A popish clergy, who are not reftrained by the most austere fubordination, will become a nuisance, a real public grievance of the heaviest kind, in any country that entertains them: and instead of the great benefit which Ireland does, and has long derived from them, if they are educated without any idea of discipline and obedience, and then put under bishops, who do not owe their station to their good opinion, and whom they cannot respect, that nation will fee disorders, of which, bad as things are, it has yet no idea. I do not fay this as thinking the leading men in Ireland would exercife this truft worfe than others; not at all: No man, no fet of men living are fit to administer the affairs or regulate the interior occonomy of a church to which they are enemies.

As to government, if I might recommend a prudent caution to them,—it would be, to innovate as little as possible, upon speculation, in establishments, from which, as they stand, they experience no material inconvenience to the repose of the country,—quieta non movere—I could say a great deal more; but I am tired: and am assaid your Lordship is tired also. I have not sat to this letter a single quarter of an hour without interruption. It has grown long, and probably contains C 2 many

many repetitions, from my total want of leifure to digest and consolidate my thoughts: and as to my expressions, I could wish to be able perhaps to measure them more exactly. But my intentions are fair, and I certainly mean to offend nobody.

THINKING over this matter more maturely, I fee no reason for altering my opinion in any past. The act, as far as it goes, is undoubtedly good. It amounts, I think, very nearly to a toleration with respect to religious ceremonies, but it puts a new bolt on civil rights, and rivers it to the old one in such a manner, that neither, I fear, will be easily loosened. What I could have wished would be, to see the civil advantages take the lead; the other, I conceive, would follow as a matter of course.

From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, a spirit of domination, and not a bigotted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up those oppressive statutes. I am sure I have known those who have oppressed papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies; and who wished them to continue, in order to surnish pretences for oppression; and who never saw a man by conforming

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forming escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, to whom I am not uncharitable in faying, though they are dead, that they would become papifts in order to oppress protestants; if, being protestants, it was not in their power to oppress papists. It is injustice, and not a mistaken conscience, that has been the principle of perfecution, at least as far as it has fallen under my observation. However, as I began, so I end. I do not know the map of the country. Mr. G-r, who conducts this great and difficult work, and those who support him, are better judges of the bufiness than I can pretend to be, who have not fet my foot in Ireland, those fixteen years. I have been given to understand, that I am not considered as a friend to that country: and I know that pains have been taken to lessen the credit that I might have had there.

* * I am so convinced of the weakness of interfering in any business without the
opinion of the people in whose business I interfere, that I do not know how to acquit myself, of
what I have now done.—I have the honour to be,
with high regard and esteem,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, and humble servant, &c.

Charles Street, London, &c.

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By the Right Rev. Dr. CARROLL.

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